



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Arc
670
3

Arc 670.3



Harvard College Library

FROM

The University

BULLETIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Entered as second-class matter June 10, 1898, at the post office at Madison, Wisconsin under the Act of July 16, 1894

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION

WALTER M. SMITH, *Chairman*
WILLARD G. BLEYER, *Secretary*
O. CLARKE GILLETT, *Editor*
WILLIAM H. LIGHTY, *University Extension Series*
WILLIAM S. MARSHALL, *Science Series*
DANIEL W. MEAD, *Engineering Series*
EDWARD T. OWEN, *Philology and Literature Series*
WINFRED T. ROOT, *History Series*
THOMAS K. URDAHL, *Economics and Political Science Series*

The Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin is published bimonthly at Madison. For postal purposes, all issues in all series of the Bulletin are included in one consecutive numbering as published, a numbering which has no relation whatever to the arrangement in series and volumes.

The Economics and Political Science series, the History series, the Philology and Literature series, the Science series, the Engineering series, and the University extension series contain original papers by persons connected with the University. The series formerly issued as the Economics, Political Science, and History series was discontinued with the completion of the second volume and has been replaced by the Economics and Political Science series and the History series.

Persons who reside in the state of Wisconsin may obtain copies of the Bulletin free by applying to the Secretary of the Regents and paying the cost of transportation. No. 1 of Vol. 1 of the Economics, Political Science, and History series, Nos. 1 and 3 of Vol. 2 of the Philology and Literature series, No. 2 of Vol. 2 of the Science series, and Nos. 1-5 of Vol. 1 and No. 4 of Vol. 2 of the Engineering series are now out of print and can no longer be furnished. Bulletins issued since May 1, 1898, are entered as second-class mail matter and no charge is required by the University to cover cost of postage. The postage required for such of the earlier numbers as can now be furnished is as follows: Econ. ser., Vol. 1, No. 2, 8c; No. 3, 13c; Vol. 3, No. 1, 4c; Phil. ser., Vol. 1, No. 1, 5c; Sci. ser., Vol. 1, No. 1, 2c; No. 2, 2c; No. 3, 3c; No. 4, 3c; No. 5, 10c; Vol. 2, No. 1, 2c; Eng. ser., Vol. 1, No. 6, 2c; No. 7, 3c; No. 8, 2c; No. 9, 4c; No. 10, 3c; Vol. 2, No. 1, 4c; No. 2, 2c.

Any number of the Bulletin now in print will be sent postpaid to persons not residents of Wisconsin from the office of the Secretary of the Regents on receipt of the price. Title-pages and tables of contents to completed volumes of all series have been issued and will be furnished without cost on application to the University Editor. Communications having reference to an exchange of publications should be addressed to the Librarian of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

BULLETIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

NO. 485

PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE SERIES, VOL. 5, No. 2, PP. 99-148

**ON THE RELATION BETWEEN INSCRIPTIONS
AND SCULPTURED REPRESENTATIONS
ON ATTIC TOMBSTONES**

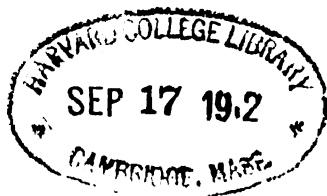
BY

HAROLD RIPLEY HASTINGS, Ph.D.

**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN**

**MADISON, WISCONSIN
1912**

Ar 670.3



The University.

CONTENTS

	Page
Prefatory Note	5
Introduction	7
Chapter I. Statement of the Epitaphs	10
Chapter II. Identity of Subject in Epitaph and Relief	18
Chapter III. Coincidence of Names in Epitaph and "Label"	21
Chapter IV. Coincidence of Names in "Title"-Inscription and "Label"	28
Chapter V. Additions and Alterations	35
Chapter VI. Groups of Family Monuments	42
Conclusion	49

PREFATORY NOTE

In the preparation of this monograph I was greatly assisted by Professor Grant Showerman, who gave me many valuable suggestions and much friendly criticism, besides reading the proof. To him and to Professors M. S. Slaughter and A. G. Laird, who have also read the proof, I wish to express my hearty thanks.

This study is limited to the Pre-Roman tombstones of Attica, and since the flourishing period of Attic sepulchral sculpture began late in the fifth century and was ended late in the fourth century by the sumptuary law of Demetrius of Phalerum (cf. Cicero, *de Legg.* ii. 26), it may be assumed by the reader that a monument is of the fourth century unless some statement is made to the contrary.

References to the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions I have made according to the new system of numbering the volumes, which includes the *Corpus Inscr. Atticarum*. For the Attic inscriptions the *numbers* of the volumes remain the same, except that *C.I.A.* IV¹ becomes *I.G.* I, suppl., and *C.I.A.* IV² becomes *I.G.* II⁵ (suppl.).

To the following works I have referred by the author's name merely and the *number* of the monument in the respective works:

Conze = *Die attischen Grabreliefs*.

Kaibel = *Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus Conlecta*.

Hoffmann = *Sylloge Epigrammatum Graecorum*.

Holwerda = *Die attischen Graeber der Bluethezeit*.

To monuments in the National Museum at Athens I have referred by number, (Kab.) indicating that the monument is described under the same number by Καββαδίας in his catalogue

of the sculpture of the museum, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, Athens, 1890-92.

In the matter of orthography I have followed, except in cases of error, the actual spelling of the inscriptions. In like manner in transliterating Greek I have, for the most part, retained the original spelling, e.g., *Kallimachos* rather than *Callimachus*.

ON THE RELATION BETWEEN INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURED REPRESENTATIONS ON ATTIC TOMBSTONES

INTRODUCTION

The ancient tombstones of Attica, which have been recovered in recent times by the hundred, present several interesting fields of study.

Even from an artistic point of view, these products of the workshop rather than of the studio are not without interest and value, for they continue for a long time to reflect the spirit, and occasionally to suggest the skilled workmanship, of the great artists. Those of the later fifth and the early fourth centuries especially show again and again the influence of the Parthenon frieze.

Their religious and social aspects, too, are extremely interesting. What is the meaning of the scenes depicted upon them? What can they tell us of the Athenian attitude toward death and an after life? Do they represent scenes of everyday life, ceremonies at the grave, or reunion in the world beyond?

In regard to this last question the general consensus at present seems to be that the scenes relate to the life upon earth, with a strong suggestion of the long journey about to be embarked upon by one or more of the group.

The identification of the figures in the groups and the relation of the inscriptions to them present various difficulties. One cannot always point with certainty to the figure of the occupant of the grave, and the question has even been raised as to whether the lamented dead are represented upon the monuments at all. Dr. Holwerda¹ has argued that they are not, that the reliefs

¹ *Die attischen Gräber der Blüthezeit*, Leiden, 1899.

represent only friends and relatives assembled at the grave. His chief argument is the resemblance between the scenes upon some of the grave-reliefs and those upon the white lecythi, which we know have to do with the grave and its adornment.

Reviewers have chiefly ridiculed this book; the author seems to have shut his eyes and ears to the simple story the monuments plainly tell.

It has usually seemed too self-evident to require any proof that we are to identify the occupant of the grave with the figure, or one of the figures, represented upon his monument, but as no one, so far as I know, has yet attempted to assemble the positive proofs of the correctness of this identification, it has seemed to me to be well worth while to do so.

I owe this suggestion to Dr. Adolf Wilhelm, formerly Secretary of the Austrian Institute at Athens, who thought that a careful study of the relation of the inscriptions to the reliefs, especially in cases where alterations could be detected, would yield interesting positive results. In the winter of 1903-4, therefore, I examined practically all of the very numerous ancient tombstones in Athens and Piraeus, supplementing my study (for the monuments scattered through various museums) by the aid of Conze's corpus, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*.

Since positive evidence for the identification of the deceased with a particular figure represented upon his tombstone is, from the very nature of the case, rarely to be expected, we may reasonably suppose our contention to be established, if we can prove it to be true in several individual instances, and find no positive proof to the contrary.

My evidence, which seems ample to me, is chiefly of five kinds:

1. A statement of the epitaph that the deceased is represented upon the relief;
2. Identity of subject in epitaph and relief;
3. The use of the name of the deceased, as seen in the epitaph or in the "title"-inscription, applied as a "label" to one of the figures of the relief;

4. Alterations, such as the addition of a name or a figure upon the death of another member of the family;

5. Monuments to different members of the same family, which represent the same persons in varied groupings.

Let it be understood at the outset that I do not propose to discuss the question as to the existence or non-existence of *individual portraiture* upon the reliefs, but merely the question whether figures upon the reliefs do or do not represent the persons buried beneath.

CHAPTER I

STATEMENTS OF THE EPITAPHS

In searching for positive evidence for the identification of the occupant of a grave with a figure carved or painted upon his monument, we must expect to find only rarely, if at all, a direct statement or even a direct implication of such identity. The contemporaries who saw the monument needed no explanation.

Evidence of this explicit nature is not lacking, however. Several Pre-Persian epitaphs and a few of later date tell us in so many words that the lamented dead is pictured upon the monument.

1. *I.G. I, suppl.*, 477*c*, p. 48; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, add. 1*a*; Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epig. Graec.* 22; Athens, Epigr. Mus.; sixth century B.C.

παι[δὸς] [ἀπο]φθιμένοιο Κ[λεοί]το τῷ Μενεσαίχμω
μνῆμ' ἐσορῶν οἴκτιρ' ὅς καλὸς ὃν ἔθανε.

"Look upon his monument, see how fair was he who had to die, and pity him."

2. *I.G. I, suppl.*, 477*e*, p. 49; Athens, Epigr. Mus.; sixth or fifth century.

[ἔδ' εἰκ]ὸν ἔστ[εκ]εν Ἀμεινίο· ἔστι δὲ ἄ[ρ'] αὐτῷ
μνῆμα δικαιοσύν]ες ἔνεκα καὶ γενεᾶς.

The restoration *εἰκόν* is practically certain from the ON and the context.

"Here stands the likeness of Ameinias, to commemorate his upright life and goodly lineage."

In these two cases there can be no doubt that we have to do with monuments having upon them what answered for portraits of the deceased.

This is not so certain, but is still the most natural inference, in the case of a pedestal for a life-size statue from Bourba, bearing the Pre-Persian inscription:

3. *I.G. I*, suppl., 477*p*, p. 189; Hoffmann, *Syll. I*; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 81.

..... ε φίλες παιδὸς κατέθηκεν
καλὸν ἰδέν· ἀφντὰρ Φαίδιμος ἐργάσατο.

καλόν probably agrees with a preceding *μνῆμα*, but seems to characterize the figure of the girl upon it.

"... erected [this memorial] of her dear daughter, fair to see; the work of Phaidimos."

The two following non-Attic epitaphs speak of the statue of the departed that stood upon the pedestal.

4. *I.G. XII (I.G. Ins. I)*, 142; Hoffmann 197. A marble pedestal in Rhodes. Style of letters of the fourth century.

[εἰκόνα Παρμενίδ]ος θυγατρὸς σφετέρας με Δαήμων
[καὶ Κλεινὴ μ]άτηρ μνᾶμ' ἐπὶ παιδὶ θέσαν
... ου δέ μ' ἔχει τέμενος Διὸς, ὅ(ρ)ρά τ' Ἀπόλλων
... ου ἄμειψεν ἔλων ἐκ πυρὸς ἀθάνατον.
[ε]ἰκόνα Παρμενίδος (σ)τᾶσεν θυγατρὸς μ[ε Δαήμων]
[κ]αὶ Κλεινὴ μάτηρ[μνᾶμ' ἐπὶ παιδὶ φίλαι·]

In the last two lines, which substantially repeat the first two, we are told: "I am a likeness of Parmenis, whose father Daëmon and mother Kleino placed me here as a memorial over their dear daughter."

5. *B.C.H. XIII* (1889), p. 404; Hoffmann 185. A pedestal of black marble in Phersala, Thessaly, "d'assez bonne époque."

εἶσινδε τὸν Νε[ίκα]ς καὶ Ἀμωμήτιο Φ[ίλιστον]
παῖδα· τὸν εὐεργῆς, ὃ ξένη, τ[ύμβος ἔχει·]
ὧι τότε ἀείμναστον μάτηρ μνα[μείον ἔθηκε,]
πολλ' ἀδινοῖς δάκρυσιν θρήνον ὁ[δυρομένα.]

"Behold Ph[ilistos], the child of Neikè and Amometos; him, O Stranger, the well-wrought tomb contains. To him his mother has set up this lasting memorial," etc.

We see from these five monuments, as well as from many epigrams of the Anthology (some of them cited by Holwerda), that it was customary in the sixth century in Athens, and also considerably later in Thessaly and Rhodes, to erect upon the grave a statue which was regarded as a representation of the deceased.

Holwerda¹ rejects all this evidence at once, as having no bearing upon the monuments of the "Bluthezeit." This he would have a right to do only after giving strong reasons for believing that a radical change in the burial customs and ideas of the Athenians had come about in the meantime, for such customs, as is well known, are wont to persist even through radical changes in religious belief.

6. But we are not confined to the more primitive age, even for explicit evidence. A marble stele, once in Athens, now lost, had upon it a relief of which the feet of several figures were preserved, below which was the fourth(?)-century epigram, stating that "this is the monument of Dionysius, his father, uncle, and the others whose *figures appear upon the relief*."

Conze 1310; *I.G.* II, 2378; Kaibel 66; Hoffmann 103.

σῆμα τόδ' Οἶναλου Διονυσίου, τῶν δ' ἔτι πρόσθεν,
Πείθωνος πατρός οὐ καὶ Φειδίππου τόδε θείου,
τούτου τῶν τ' ἄλλων, ὧν τύπος εἰκόν' ἔχει.

7. We come next to a gable-crowned stele of about 400 B.C., on which is depicted in rather low relief the standing figure of a full-grown girl, holding out a dove to a baby boy, who kneels on the ground reaching up for it. The epigram, clearly cut above the figures, has been misinterpreted, I believe, by every one who has yet attempted it.

¹ *Op. cit.* Cf. p. 7, note 1.

Conze 887; *I.G.* II, 3961; Kaibel 87; Hoffmann 40; at the Monastery τῶν Ἀσωμάτων, near the American School at Athens.

μνήμα Μνησαγόρας καὶ Νικοχάρως τόδε κείται·
αὐτῶ δὲ οὐ παραδεῖξαι ἀφέλετο δαίμονος αἶσα,
πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμφοῖμ μέγα πένθος,
ὄνεκα ἀποφθιμένῳ βήτην δόμον Ἄιδος ἔσω.

Here Holwerda (§ 21) finds his most explicit and conclusive proof that it is not the dead themselves whom we see upon the monuments. For do we not clearly read in the second verse "*selbst sind sie aber nicht zu zeigen*"? Besides, if the dead children themselves had been represented upon the relief, the word "Denkmal" (μνήμα), forsooth, could not possibly have been used, but rather "Bildniss" (εἰκών), a specious argument which he applies continually in the following sections.² But is this translation of the second verse correct? To obtain it one must either punctuate after παραδεῖξαι, which involves two serious, if not insurmountable, difficulties, namely: the use of οὐ as equivalent to οὐκ ἔστι or to οὐχ οἶόν τε, and asyndeton of the ἀφέλετο, or else take the οὐ as a solecism for μή, as nearly all the commentators have done to their own confusion and mystification.³

A brief consideration of the grammatical principle involved makes the interpretation comparatively simple and perfectly clear. οὐ cannot be construed with an infinitive after a verb of hindering,⁴ but either μή (μὴ οὐ, if the verb of hindering is negated) or no negative at all.⁵ οὐ cannot be merely a

² That εἰκών and μνήμα may be synonymous is shown by *I.G.* II, 3840, quoted below, No. 10 (p. 15), εἰκὼν μνήμα χρόνου, κτλ.

³ Cf. the note appended to this chapter, pp. 15 ff.

⁴ Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, § 92, quotes our epitaph as a *unique* example of this use.

⁵ Cf. Goodwin, *G.M.T.* § 807. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι followed by the infinitive without μὴ is rarely found, to be sure, but Euripides, *Hipp.* 1207 f. so uses the passive: ἀφηρεῖθ

Σκέιρωνος ἄκτας ὄμμα τοῦμόν εισορᾶν,

and the analogy of κολῶειν and other verbs frequently so used might easily account for the lack of μὴ in our epitaph.

stone-cutter's error for *μή*, as the latter does not fit the meter and would not have been in his copy.

If *οὐ* is to be construed with *ἀφέλετο*, it must be admitted that its position between the infinitive and its object is exceptional, but if Thucydides can write (ii. 40) *τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχρόν*, surely an ordinary composer of a metrical epitaph may be allowed a similar license.⁶ Furthermore, if we substitute for *αὐτῶ* *παραδεῖξαι* its equivalent, *αὐτοῖν* *παράδειξιν*, the position of the *οὐ* seems natural enough, and gives emphasis to the antithesis: death has carried off the children, but not the *portrayal* (*παραδείξαι*) of them.

It seems to me, then, that we are fully justified in translating: "Here rests the monument of Mnesagora and Nikocharēs, but Heaven's decree has *not* taken away the privilege of portraying them, who have left to their dear father and mother both great sorrow, seeing that they have passed away and gone into the house of Hades." With this interpretation the natural inference of every observer, that the children represented upon the relief are Mnesagora and Nikocharēs themselves, is confirmed by the statement of the epitaph.

The three following epitaphs, while not so explicit, imply representations of the deceased.

8. Conze 858; *I.G.* II, 3619; Hoffmann 110; Kaibel 83; part in Athens Mus. 2054, part in Piraeus Mus. A stele with high relief; in the center a standing woman, to the left traces of another figure. The epitaph runs:

οὐχὶ πέπλους, οὐ χρυσὸν ἐθαύμασεν ἐμ βίῳ ἦδε,
ἀλλὰ πόσιν τε αὐτῆς σωφροσύ[νην τε]
ἀντὶ δὲ σῆς ἡβῆς, Διονυσία, ἡ(λ)ικίας τε
τόνδε τάφον κοσμεῖ σὸς πόσις Ἀντίφ[ιλος.]

⁶ Cf. also Euripides, *Phoen.* 526: *οὐκ εἰ λέγειν χρή μή τι τοῖς ἔργοις καλοῖς*, where *οὐκ* and *μή* are both separated from the words they modify, though they do not, to be sure, separate an *alien* verb from its object.

Cf. also Homer, *Il.* v. 150: *τοῖς οὐκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέρον ἐκρίνατ' ὄνειρους*; "yet the old man discerned no dreams for them when they went."

"In place of your youthful form, your husband adorns your tomb." With what? Her *portrait*, naturally.

9. Conze 1442; *I.G.* II, 2920; Hoffmann 84; in Piraeus, private ownership. A plain stele inscribed:

Βελτίστη Νομηνίο

Ἡρακλειῶτις

μητέρα ἔθηκα ὅσῳς ὅσιαν τοῖς πᾶσιν ιδέσθαι,
ἀνθ' ὃν εὐλογίας καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξιός εἰμι.

Room below sufficient for a painted picture.

We should naturally interpret this: "I have set up a monument to my mother for all to see," and infer that a picture of the mother was implied. To be sure, ἔθηκα can mean simply "buried," but there is not much point in the *ιδέσθαι* unless the mother is to be seen, for the stele itself is quite ordinary (.44 m. broad).

10. *I.G.* II, 3840; Kaibel 82; Hoffmann 93; Athens, Epigr. Mus. Fragment of a high-relief stele with gable. Traces of heads of figures. On the epistyle above is the epitaph:

εἰκὼν μνήμα χρόνο, τιμὴ δὲ κασιγνήταισιν

τοῖν[.]

Καλλιστῶς τε Φίλης τε, οἷν ἡ πίστις διέμεινεν

ἂ[.]

The *εἰκὼν* is not only to do honor (*τιμὴ*) to the sisters, but to be a lasting memorial (*μνήμα χρόνο*) of them. It must therefore have represented them, and not merely mourning friends.

11. Conze 1160; cf. chap. ii, no. 1, which follows, (p. 18). The passers-by are to be "witnesses of his brave deeds in battle."

NOTE ON CHAP. I, NO. 7. (CF. P. 13)

Kaibel (87) takes *οὐ* with the infinitive and, knowing nothing of the relief, assumes that the deceased were not portrayed: "(versus) 2 nec structuram intelligo nec verbum παραδείξαι Hoc voluisse videtur poeta: *fatum festinans prohibuit*

ne ipsi defuncti arte exhiberentur, in quo οὐ ita excusationis aliquid habet, ut monumento, quod ante oculos est, ipsos defunctos, quorum imagines ponere non licuit, opponi dicamus: τὸ μὲν μνῆμα τόδε κείται, αὐτῶ δὲ τῶ θανόντε οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν παραδεῖξαι."

Koehler (*I.G.* II, 3961) takes the οὐ with the infinitive, but having seen the children upon the relief, has to go out of his way for a meaning for παραδεῖξαι: "αὐτῶ δὲ οὐ παραδεῖξαι ἀφείλετο insolentius dictum; nec probari potest explicatio quam proposuit Kaibelius. Sententia haec esse videtur: sors liberos parentibus eripuit, prohibuitque, ne exemplo suo ad virtutem instituerent."

Herwerden (*Mnemosyne* 1882, p. 387, and *Studia critica*, p. 22 <quoted by Hoffmann, 40>) wonders what could prevent an artist from portraying the children after death, and is inclined to emend: "Quid quaeso prohibere potuit artificem quominus ad delineationem cadaverum raptim factam post obitum componeret anaglyphen?" His proposed emendation is: αὐτῶ δ' οὐ παραδέξαι· ἀφείλετο δαίμονος αἶσα. This involves only two slight changes in the letters—ε for ει and τ for the final ι of παραδεῖξαι—and gives good sense: "Here is their grave, but it has not received their bodies. Fate has carried them off"; but the asyndeton is too violent to be allowed. We have seen above (pp. 13 f.) that there is no need of emendation.

Gutscher (*Attische Grabschriften*, p. 14) gives up the interpretation of the second verse: "eine höhere Macht betreffs der Kinder etwas verhinderte—was aber, ist nicht enträthelt."

"V", a reviewer of Gutscher (in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1892, p. 598) takes οὐ with the infinitive as "folgerichtig" (!) after the verb of hindering (ἀφαιρείσθαι), but he, too, has seen the children portrayed below the epitaph, and so assumes a strong emphasis upon αὐτῶ, which refers to the children *themselves*, who can no longer be seen, as opposed to their marble counterparts (μνῆμα) which stand before us. He translates: "Nur das Mal, das Bild der Mnesagora und des Nikochares steht hier, die Kinder selbst vorzustellen hat der Wille des Daimon den Eltern genommen."

Hoffmann (40), Cougny (*Anthol. Pal.* III, cap. ii, 50), and Conze (887) all agree with this interpretation.

Norton (*Harvard Studies*, Vol. VIII, 1897, p. 95) does not translate, but one might infer from his interpretation of the scene that he had taken *αὐτῶ* as the last-mentioned commentators have done, at the same time taking *οὐ* with *ἀφέλετο*, where it seems to me to belong. He says: "The writer meant to say that he had not represented them as in death, but as they had lived," i.e., Heaven's decree had *not* prevented the artist from portraying them *as they had lived* (*αὐτῶ*).

CHAPTER II

IDENTITY OF SUBJECT IN EPITAPH AND RELIEF

Upon several monuments we find an unmistakable identity of subject in epitaph and relief.

1. Conze 1160; *I.G.* II, 2646; Kaibel 25; Hoffmann 78; Berlin, *Beschr. der ant. Skul.* 742; about 400 B.C. A most vigorous representation of a horseman riding over a prostrate foe. On the projecting border above the relief is the epitaph:

. ἔταροι δέ τε πάντες ἵ]σασιν
καὶ πατρὶς ὥς πολλὸς ὤλεσα δυσμε[νέων.
ὕμεις δ,' ὃ παριόντες, ἐν ξείνοισι γένε]σθε
μάρτυρες ὅσσ' ἀρετῆς (σ)τήσα τροπαία μά[χης.
. υλος Φλυεύς.

However we may fill out the gaps, the drift of the epigram is plain: laudation of the soldier's prowess in war. Who, then, shall the charging knight be but he?

2. Similarly upon the Dexileos monument we see a young cavalryman riding down an enemy and read in the epitaph below that Dexileos "died at Corinth and was one of the five knights." Conze 1158; *I.G.* II, 2084; Athens, *in situ* near the Dipylon; 394 B.C. or soon after.

Δεξιλέως Λυσανίῳ Θορίκιος·
ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρῳ ἄρχοντος,
ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβολίδῳ
ἐγ Κορίνθῳ τῶν πέντε ἱππέων.

Here too there can be no doubt that the charging horseman is Dexileos himself, and no mere symbol of the service in which he died.¹

¹ On public monuments to large numbers of soldiers slain in battle, however, we naturally expect and actually find typical or symbolic battle-scenes, like

3. An interesting stele in the Athens Museum represents an old man seated, grasping the hand of a young man who stands before him. Each holds in his left hand a double flute. Below the relief is the epitaph:

Athens Mus. Inventory 1962; Kastriotes, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1903, p. 134, pl. 8.

Ἑλλάς μὲν πρωτεία τέχνης αὐλῶν ἀπένειμεν
Θηβαίῳ Πο(τ)άμῳ, τάφος δ' ὅδε δέξατο σῶμα,
πατὴρ δὲ μνήμῃσιν Ὀλυμπίχου αὖξεν ἔπαινος
οἷον ἐτέκνωσεμ παῖδα σοφοῖς βάσανον.

Below, added later, is the name of Potamon's wife, Πατρόκλεια Ποτάμωνος γυνή.

"Hellas awarded to the Theban Potamon foremost rank in the art of playing the flute. This grave has received his body, but by his memory the fame of his father Olympichos is increased, seeing that he has produced such a son, a touchstone for skilled musicians."

Here we are told of a flute-player whose fame increases the renown of his father, from which we infer that the latter was also a player of the flute.² In the relief above we see them, each with his flute, and although we may not accept Kastriotes' view that the scene represented is the reunion of father and son in Hades, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that these are the persons named in the epitaph.

4. Conze 95; *I.G.* II, 2116; Kaibel 44; Hoffmann 114; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 1030; third century. A marble stele. At the top, partly broken off, the name:

[Χαιρεστράτη](?)

. ἐκρ

Ἰ]καριέως (no room for γυνή)

that upon the monument to the Athenian soldiers who fell at Potidaea. This was a relief representing three combatants, one of whom has just speared another. Below is the epitaph in three stanzas (Conze 1155; *I.G.* I, 442; Kaibel 21).

² Kastriotes, *loc. cit.*, identifies the father with Olympichos, a pupil of Pindar.

beneath which the epitaph of Chairestratè, a "minister of the all-creating Mother," Cybele:

Μητρὸς παντοτέκνου πρόπολος σεμνή τε γεραιρὰ
τῶιδε τάφῳ κείται Χαιρεστράτη, ἣν ὁ σύνευνος
ἔστερξεν μὲν ζῶσαν, ἐπένθησεν δὲ θανοῦσαν·
φῶς δ' ἔλιπ' εὐδαίμων παῖδας παῖδων ἐπιδουσα.

Beneath is a low relief, representing a seated woman to whom a little girl is presenting a *tympannum*, the regular attribute of Cybele. And yet—so Holwerda (§ 28) would have us believe—the use of *κείται* makes it very "improbable" that the woman of the relief is Chairestratè! That is, unless the inscription says in so many words that she is Chairestratè, it cannot be she!

5. Similar testimony is given by a relief in the Louvre:

Conze 618; *I.G.* II, 2867; Kaibel 54; Hoffmann 82. A bearded man, facing to the right, sits in a chair, holding in his left hand a staff, or perhaps the handle of a hammer, and in his right a large vessel or shield, which rests on the ground beside the chair. Above the relief is the inscription:

Σωσίνοιο Γορτύνιοι Χαλκόπτης
μνήμα δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀρετῆς τε
Σωσίνοιο ἔστησαν παῖδες ἀποφθιμένο.

The deceased of the epitaph was a bronze-worker; the man of the relief holds what are apparently a tool and a product of the bronze-worker's trade; the identification of the two is all but inevitable.

6. Conze 340; described under chap. iii, no. 1 (pp. 21 f.) below. Phanostratè, the physician and midwife, is seen surrounded by several young children.

CHAPTER III

COINCIDENCE OF NAMES IN EPITAPH AND "LABEL"

On at least twelve monuments we find the name of the deceased, according to the epitaph, applied also as a label to one of the figures.

1. Conze 340; *I.G.* II, 2343; Kaibel 45; Hoffmann 107; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 993; latter half of the fourth century. A stele. The relief represents a seated woman, facing to the left, grasping the hand of a standing woman, with four small children inserted about them. Over the head of the seated figure entirely, between the center and the right edge of the stone, is inscribed the name *Φανοστράτη*. Above this in larger letters, beginning at the left edge of the stele and originally running completely across, the fragmentary name:

Φανος[*τράτη τοῦ δέινα*]
Με[*λιτέως*] (no room for *γυνή*).

This may refer, of course, to the standing woman—Conze takes it so—but from its position, occupying the full width of the stele, and from the use of larger letters, it appears to me much more likely that it is the "title"-inscription of the stele, the *Φανοστράτη* below serving simply to identify the figure, while the standing figure remains nameless. Below the relief is the epigram:

μαῖα καὶ ἰατρὸς Φανοστράτη ἐνθάδε κείται
*[ο]ὔθηνι λυπηρά, πᾶσιν δὲ θανούσα ποθεινή.*¹

2. Conze 1440a; *I.G.* I, suppl., 491¹², p. 115; Kaibel 36; Hoffmann 32; fifth century. A plain stele *in situ* at the Dipylon.

¹ Cited also under chap. ii, no. 6 (p. 20), and chap. iv, no. 1 (p. 28).

At the top Πυθαγόρο, with space below sufficient for a full-length painting. On the base the epitaph:

προξενίας ἀρετῆς τε χάριμ προγόνων τε καὶ αὐτὸ
ἐνθάδ' Ἀθηναῖοι Πυθαγόρην ἔθεσαν
υἱὸν δημοσίαι Διονυσίο, ἱππόβοτον δὲ
πατρίδα Σαλυβρίαν ἔκετ' ἄχος φθιμένο.

3. Conze 1483; *I.G.* II, 2263; Kaibel 39; Hoffmann 117. On the epistyle of an *aediculum* near the Dipylon are inscribed the names:

Μακαρεὺς Λακιάδης Ἀρχέβιος

On the base of the same monument is the epitaph:

εἴ σε τύχη προὔπεμψε καὶ ἡλικίας ἐπέβησεν,
ἐλπιδι γ' ἦσθα μέγας τῶι τε δοκείμ, Μακαρεῦ,
ἡμόχοις τέχνης τραγικῆς Ἑλλήσιν ἔσεσθαι,
σωφ[ρ]οσύνῃ δ' ἀρετῇ[ι] τε οὐ[κ] ἀκλεὲς ἔθανες.

The figure of Makareus, since the monument is his, was marked by his *demotikon* as well as by his name, while his companion was indicated by the name alone.

4. *I.G.* I, suppl., 491⁸, p. 114; Kaibel 73; Hoffmann 33; in Piraeus; fifth century, before the Pelop. War (Koehler). A small, plain stele with a moulding at the top, below which the inscription:

Ἀνθεμίδος τόδε σῆμα κύκλωι στεφάνου(ι)ν (ἐ)ταῖροι
μνημείων ἀρετῆς οὐνεκα καὶ φιλίας.

Ἀνθεμῖς (not noticed by Holwerda)
Ἡροφίλῃ

The spacing of Ἀνθεμῖς and Ἡροφίλῃ (the latter is considerably lower down) makes it evident that the names stood over the heads of two painted figures, Anthemis standing, Herophilé seated or much smaller.

5. Conze 1317e; *I.G.* II, 2453; Hoffmann 69; Athens Mus. Inventory 968; date between 404 and 387 B.C. (Koehler). A

flat stele with a *loutrophoros* in relief. In two vertical lines on the shaft, to the left of the vase, is the epitaph:

Ἀήμνο ἀπ' ἡγαθέας κεύθει τάφος ἐνθάδε γαίης
ἄνδρα φιλοπρόβατον· Νικόμαχος δ' ὄνομα.

"Here in this land far from holy Lemnos a grave contains a good shepherd; Nikomachos his name." On the shoulder of the *loutrophoros*, in such a position that it can refer only to a painted figure (no longer visible) beneath it on the side of the vase, is the name Νικόμαχος Πε(ι)ραιεύς, apparently an Athenian cleruch of Lemnos.

6. *I.G.* II, 2892; Kaibel 71; Hoffmann 83; in Berlin. A marble slab. At the top the epigram:

ἐνθάδε [Π]υθοκλῆς κείται πολλοῖσι ποθενός,
καὶ Σάτυρος νέος ὦν ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίαν,
[π]αῖς δὲ Ἑρακλίδο, μητρὸς δὲ Ἀριαστίδος ἐστί,
[π]ατρὶς δ' ἐστὶ Ἐφεσος, κλενοτάτῃ πόλεων,
θρεφθὲς δ' ἐν χθονὶ τῇδ' ἔθανεν μέγα πῆμα φύλοισ[ι]
τῇ τε κασιγνήτῃ πένθεα πλείστα λιπών.

A little lower down the names:

Ἀριαστὶς Πυθοκλῆς

Space for a painting beneath.

7. Conze 1317d; *I.G.* II, 3673; Kaibel 91; Hoffmann 91; Athens, Epigr. Mus. A small, plain stele with Ἑρσηῖς written across the top. Below, leaving enough space for a small painting, the epitaph:

τηλὸ πατρίδος δσ' ἔθανον κλεναῖς ἐν Ἀθήν(α)ις
Ἑ(ρ)σηῖς, γνωστοῖσιν πᾶσι λιπῶσα πόθον.

8. Conze 1460; *I.G.* II^s (suppl.), 2544b, p. 274; Athens, Epigr. Mus. A plain stele with gable. At the top Καλλίας Σκαμβονίδης. Below, leaving a blank space nearly square, the epigram:

ἥρξας Ἀθηναίοισι, Δικαιοσύνην δὲ παρέδρον,
Καλλία, ἐκτήσω, δαίμον[α] σεμνοτάτην.
κτλ.—the rest very fragmentary.

Without doubt there was painted in the blank space the figure of a man to whom the inscription above gave the name. This Kallias was probably the archon of 412/1 B.C.²

9. *I.G.* II^s (suppl.), 2338b, p. 272; Athens, Epigr. Mus.

The roof-piece of a large *aediculum*, broken off at the right. On the right half of the epistyle, evidently so placed not only to head the monument, but also to identify the woman's figure which was once below,³ is written in large, beautiful letters the name:

Κλεαγόρα Φιλέου Μελ[ιτεύς⁴

Upon the epistyle, immediately beneath, and likewise covering only the right half of it, is the epigram, cut in smaller letters of the same style:

εἰς φῶς παῖδ' ἀνάγουσα βίου, φάος ἡ[δὺν λιποῦσα,⁵
 Κλεαγόρα, πλείστης σωφροσύνης[ἔθανες,
 ὥστε γονεῦσιν πέ[νθ]ος ἀγήρατο[ν ἔμμεναι
 ἐσθλῶν.

"Bringing forth a child to the light of life, thou hast died and left behind thee, Kleagora, the sweet light of a noble character, so that thy parents' mourning for thy virtues will be undying."

At the left end of the epistyle, in letters of the same style, but careless and shallow (evidently a later addition), is the name of Kleagora's father: Φιλέας | Φιλάγρου | Μελιτεύς

² Lolling, 'Αρχ. Δελτ. 1892, p. 36. ³ Cf. chap. iv, § 3 (pp. 32 ff.).

⁴ γυνή, supplied by Koehler in *I.G.*, is not possible. If there had been sufficient room for it on the epistyle, ἐσθλῶν of the third verse of the epigram would have had plenty of room on its own line.

⁵ Koehler's restoration (in *I.G.*) of the end of the first verse, following φάος, is [αἶον] ἔχουσα, which pays no heed to the beginning of the next word as preserved upon the stone—H⁴, the only possibilities for the second letter being A, Δ, Λ. I have therefore ventured to restore ἡ[δὺν λιποῦσα, substituting [ἔθανες for Koehler's [ἐλipes in the next verse, and adopting his [ν ἔμμεναι in the third. The interpretation offers some difficulties, but my translation gives a possible rendering, and the general drift of the epigram is clear enough.

The monument, which seems to have represented father and daughter clasping hands, was doubtless erected to Kleagora's memory by her father,⁶ although she was married. When Phileas died, they wrote his name over his head, instead of—or perhaps *besides*—setting up a separate monument for him.

Of the three following monuments I do not feel so sure.

10. *I.G.* II, 2338; Hoffmann 38; Athens, Epigr. Mus. The cornice of a high-relief stele. On the upper border are the names:

(1) Καλλίστ]ρατος (2) Λυσιστράτη (3) Νικοστράτη (4) Κα-
(λλίμαχος)

on the epistyle the two verses:

ἐν]θάδ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς κε(ῖ)ται, Καλλιστράτο υἱός,
Κα]λλίμαχος φυ(λ)ῆς Κεκροπί(δ)ος Μελιτεύς.

Of the names, (1) is nicely cut, (2) very irregular, (3) good large letters over an erasure, (4) only K and part of A ever cut. The epigram is also poorly and carelessly cut.

From these indications we may infer that the relief beneath represented a family group of at least four persons, and at first bore only the name of Kallistratos, and perhaps that of Nikostratè or the erased name. Later, when the son Kallimachos died, the epigram to his memory was inscribed and his name begun over his head, and then finished, perhaps, in paint alone.

11. Conze 191; *I.G.* II, 3602; Kaibel, add. 35a (p. 517); Hoffmann 101; Athens Mus. 1115. A marble stele representing a seated woman grasping the hand of a standing man, of whose figure only a part is preserved. Above their heads their names, in the genitive case:

Δημητρίο
Θεοδότης

⁶ Cf. γονεῦσιν, in the third verse of the epigram.

Below the relief is the epigram:

Ψυχὴ μὲν προλιπούσα τὸ σὸν, [Δημήτριε, σῶμα]
οἴχεται εἰς Ἑρεβος, σωφροσύν[ης δὲ χάρις]
θάλλει ἀγήρατος· τύμβωι δέ σ[ε θῆκε θανόντα]
Ἑρξίς ἴσον στέρξας' οἷσι τέκ[εσσιν ὁμοῦ].
ἄφθονον εὐλογίας πηγὴν, Δημ[ήτριε, λείπεις]
ἀσκήσας κόσμον σωφροσύνη[ν τε τρόπων].
ὦν σε χάριν στέρξας' Ἑρξίς τεκ[έεσσιν ὁμοίως]
μνημεῖον φιλίας τεῦξε τάφ[ον φθιμένωι].

There can be little doubt that the name *Δημητρίο* refers to the figure of the man below. Theodotè may be a sister, wife, or daughter. Erxis, who set up the monument, "loving him as she did her own children," may be a very dear relative, perhaps a stepmother, or a mother-in-law.

12. Conze 866; *I.G.* II, 3111; Kaibel 47; Hoffmann 87; at Athens. The upper part of a stele with gable and the head of the single figure—a woman. Above the head is the inscription:

ἐνθάδε γῇ κατέχει τίτθην πα|ίδων Διογείτο
ἐκ Πελοποννήσ|ο τήνδε δικαιοτάτην
Μαλίχα Κυθηρία

Though the nurse is not named in the verses, the name over the relief (which is surely contemporary) was sufficient. Cythera is naturally regarded as a part of Peloponnesus.

13. *I.G.* II, 2496; Kaibel 64; Athens, *Epigr. Mus.* A rectangular marble pedestal, with two round holes—sockets for the feet of marble funeral vases—in its upper surface. Upon one side is the inscription:

Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Πολεμῷ Σώτιος

Σώτιον ἐνθάδε γῇ κατέχει τέχνην τε κράτιστον
ἣν ἔχεν πάντων ὄντα φύσιν τε ἀρετῆς

[124]

ἄστοίσις τε ποθενόν· ἀεὶ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀρέσκων
 [ῆ]ν ψυχὴν τε φίλοις ἔσχε δικαιοτάτην.

Μελάντης Ποτάμιος

Πολεμῶ and Μελάντης Π. are careless later additions.

Olympiodoros was probably represented with Sotios upon one or both of the marble urns, and it may be that the monument belonged to him as well as to Sotios, but of that we cannot be sure.

CHAPTER IV

COINCIDENCE OF NAMES IN "TITLE"-INSCRIPTION
AND "LABEL"

§ 1. Evidence of the same kind as that just drawn from the reliefs which have epigrams inscribed upon them is afforded by at least ten monuments upon which a name appearing as a heading, to mark the occupant of the grave, is repeated to identify one of the figures of the relief or painting. The title-inscription usually gives the full name, according to the usage of the fourth century, consisting of the individual name, the father's name—in the case of married women often the husband's name, sometimes in addition to the father's name—and the deme. The "label" usually consists merely of the individual name.

Where a monument of the fourth century presents no full name, it seems certain, either that a part of the monument, containing the title-inscription, has been lost, or that names upon neighboring monuments (cf. chap. vi) made the identification sufficiently complete.

1. Conze 340; *I.G.* II, 2343. Discussed under chap. iii, no. 1 (p. 2).

2. Conze 763; *I.G.* II, 2287; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 933. A stele with *anthemion*. At the top the name:

Σωστράτη Σωστράτου Λαμπιτρέως

Above the three figures are three names arranged thus:

Σωστράτη

Νικόπολις

Σώστρατος

(woman standing) (woman standing) (man sitting)

Here, then, we have a monument to a daughter, her father and mother being represented with her in the relief.

3. Conze 1316; *I.G.* II, 4130; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 915. A stele with gable. In the lower part of the triangular field is the heading: *Στρατοκλῆς Κεφαλίωνος*. On the side of the *loutrophoros* which is represented in relief upon the stele are the names:

Μυρ]ρίν η Στρατ οκλῆς

The spacing shows the position of the heads of two figures once painted upon the vase.

It appears that Stratokles was represented upon his tombstone in company with his mother, or his sister, or perhaps his wife.

4. Conze 1120; *I.G.* II, 3453; Athens Mus. 1100. A marble lecythus. On its side three figures with names above them:

[Εὔπ]ο[λ]ις¹ Θεοδώρα Ὀλ[ύ]μπιχος
(man standing) (woman standing) (soldier standing)

Below, in larger letters *Θεοδώρα*.

5. Athens Mus. Inventory 1985. A stele with anthemion. At the top of the shaft the heading: *Πλαθάνη Νικοδήμου*. Above the separate figures of the relief:

Πλαθάνη Πυθόδωρος Πολυχάρης Νικοδήμος
(woman sitting) (three men standing)

6. Conze 208; *I.G.* II, 3754. A marble *loutrophoros in situ* near the Dipylon. On its side a standing male figure, marked *Ἡγήτωρ*, grasps the hand of a seated female figure, marked *Παμφίλη*. On the square pedestal is the title-inscription: *Ἡγήτωρ Κηφισοδώρο*.

7. Conze 746; *I.G.* II, 1983. A marble lecythus at Tatoi (Decelea). A standing young man, marked *Ἀνένκλητος*, grasps the hand of a standing old man, *Νικοδήμος*. Near by was found a pedestal, with a socket in its top for the foot of a vase, bearing the inscription (*I.G.* II, 1982):

[Ἀνέν]κλη[τος] | Νικοδήμου | Δεκελειεύς.

¹ Koehler in *I.G.* reads Ἀλεξίς (so also Conze, and Kirchner, *Prosop. Attica* s.v.), but the letters preserved, Ο / Ι Ξ, admit only of -ολίς, -οαις, or -οδίς. Hence I have restored Εὔπολις.

8. Conze 520a; *I.G. II^s* (suppl.), 3858b, p. 285; Athens Mus. Inventory 2128. A plain marble slab. Across the top, marking the figures of a vanished painting, are the names:

Κλειταγόρα Ἀθηναῖς Τιμαία Εὐβόλη

Lower down, in larger letters, and possibly a later addition, the name Κλειταγόρα.

9. Conze 520; *I.G. II^s* (suppl.), 1861b, p. 268; at Liopesi. A plain stele. Under the top moulding is the heading:

Δημαρέτη Λεωκράτους
Ἀναφλυστίου θυγάτηρ

In smaller letters, beneath two rosettes:

Ἀριστείδης Ἱπποστράτη Χαρίας Εὐρυμαίδης
Ἀναφλύστιος Ἀριστείδου Ἀναφλύστιος Ἀναφλύστιος
Ἀναφλυστίου

Δημαρέτη (omitted in *I.G.*).

The painting evidently represented four standing figures, with Demaretè seated in front of Aristeides.

10. Athens Mus. 1863; unpublished. A stele in the form of an *aediculum*. On the epistyle in large letters is the heading:

Ἀγνο[στράτη] Θεοδότου θυγάτηρ.

The medium high relief below represents a young woman, dressed in a sleeveless chiton with high girdle and bands crossing between the breasts, touching with her right hand the top of a *loutrophoros*, which is nearly as tall as herself. Upon the vase are represented in low relief a young woman, marked Ἀγνοστράτη, holding the hand of a young man, marked Θεόδωρος. The young woman's dress resembles closely that of the large figure, the crossed girdle being clearly distinguished; her chiton, however, seems to have short, loose sleeves.

Here we seem to have a gravestone within a gravestone, representing a sister, perhaps, or a slave-girl at the grave of

the young woman, who is represented upon the urn grasping the hand of her brother.²

IDENTIFICATION COMPLETE WITHOUT REPETITION OF
DECEASED'S NAME

§ 2. When a relief has only two figures, there is no need of repeating the name of the *heading* to mark one of the figures, as the identification of the two is made complete by the indication of the name of the other.

1. Conze 241; *I.G.* II, 1694; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 721. A stele with the heading:

Φαιδωνίδης Σπουδαίου
'Αγκυλῆθεν

Below is represented a standing man, who grasps the hand of a standing woman, above whose head, in smaller, less regular letters, is inscribed *Λυσιστράτη*—perhaps a later addition.

2. Conze 1110; *I.G.* II, 2249; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 879. A stele whose whole shaft is occupied by a *loutrophoros* in relief. Above is the name (?)Δ[?]ων *Λυκόφρονος Κυδαθηναίεύς*; on the vase is represented a standing girl, over whose head is roughly scratched *Λυσιστράτη*, grasping the hand of a standing, bearded man (near his head are traces of an inscription), behind whom stands a young soldier.

Holwerda's comment (§ 65), that the man, if he were Dion, would be labeled with his name, not the young woman, is utterly absurd. On the contrary, this stele gives us a rather nice indication that the ancient Athenians would expect Dion to be one

² The *loutrophoros*, which indicates that Hagnostratè was unmarried (cf. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* 1891, pp. 371 ff.), might tempt one at first sight to read in this relief the story of a pathetic romance—the separation, by death, of a pair of lovers, but the resemblance of the young man's name to that of the girl's father Theodotos, and the discovery, in the same locality, of the tombstone of Θεόδωρος Θεωδώρου Φαληρέως (Athens Mus. Inventory 2405), make it almost certain that the young people are brother and sister.

of the figures (naturally the bearded man in the center), and would ask only: "But who are the girl and the young soldier?"³

3. Conze 267; *I.G.* II⁵ (suppl.), 1918b, p. 269; Athens. A plain stele bearing at the top the names:

Εὐτυχίδης Ἀχαρνεὺς
Πεισιδίκη

Apparently the monument of Eutychides, who was once represented in a painting on the shaft below, standing and grasping the hand of the seated Peisidikè.

§ 3. Very often the heading is so placed that it may serve to label one of the figures also. The following will suffice as examples.

1. Conze 695; *I.G.* II, 4121; Athens, Epigr. Mus. A small, plain stele with the names:

Σίμων Πρωτάρχος
Πρωτάρχος

Simon apparently stood on the left, while Protarchos sat on the right in the painted picture, the addition of Simon's patronymic pointing to her as the deceased.

2. Conze 896; *I.G.* II, 1705; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 763. A stele representing two women. The heading—Μύννιον Χαίρεστράτο Ἀγνο(υ)σίω—is confined to the right half of the epistyle, so as to apply to the figure of Mynnion below.

3. Conze 415; *I.G.* II, 2319; Athens Mus. A marble lecythus, on which a man stands (facing to the right), grasping the hand of a seated woman. Between them is a child. Above their heads the inscription:

Ἀριστόκλεια γυνή
Ἀρξίφ ὄντος Μαραθωνίου

³ The soldier is of smaller proportions than the other figures, and evidently of subordinate importance. Hence I have included the relief among those with two figures.

so arranged that the husband's name is divided by his head, the woman being, of course, Aristokleia, the deceased.

4. Conze 894; *I.G.* II, 3943; Athens, private ownership. The relief represents mother and son. On the epistyle above their respective heads are the names:

Μηλίδος Ἀντιφάνης

a shorthand way of naming both, indicating their relationship, and marking the monument as that of Antiphanes.⁴

5. Conze 130; *I.G.* II, 2729; Kaibel 48; now lost; third century. The arrangement of the inscriptions and relief is as follows:

Ἀπολλοδώρου
ἰσοτέλου θυγάτηρ
 Μέλιττα
(seated woman) (standing
 (clasp^g hand of) woman)

τίτθη

ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τίττην κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει

Ἰπποστράτης· καὶ νῦν ποθεῖ σε—

καὶ ζῶσάν σ' ἐφίλ|ουν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι (τι)μῶ

οὔσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆς, |καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ.

οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γ|ῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν,

πρώτῃ σοι τιμ|αί, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνει Πλού-

τωνί τε κείνται.

"Here the earth covers the good nurse of Hippostratè, who now mourns for thee. . . . In thy lifetime I loved thee, and now, even when thou art beneath the earth, I still honor thee and shall honor thee as long as I live," etc.

Apparently we are to read continuously Ἀπολλοδώρου ἰσο-τέλου θυγάτηρ Μέλιττα τίτθη, Μέλιττα being displaced from its natural position to identify the standing woman as the nurse to

⁴ Cf. Loch, *De titulis Graecis sepulcralibus*, p. 52.

whom Hippostratè erected the monument. The seated woman must be Hippostratè herself. $\tau\iota\tau\theta\eta$ may be placed as it is to serve as a sort of heading for the epigram, but at all events should be joined with the name above.

Cf. also chap. iii, no. 9 (p. 24), and various monuments of the *aediculum* type which have names in full inscribed upon the epistyle above the corresponding figures.

CHAPTER V

ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS

Some further evidence for the identification of the figures of the reliefs is given by the changes made in the inscriptions. These alterations are very numerous and show among other things that monuments erected to certain members of a family were often made to serve for other members who died later, by the mere addition of their names upon some convenient part of the monument. In the case of the simple family stelai without reliefs or paintings this practice was very natural, the names of the several members of the family being inscribed from time to time as they died. This would account for the similar practice upon the figured monuments, even where there were no figures to correspond to the new names.

Very often these new names seem to belong to an entirely different family, although there is always the possibility of some relationship by marriage. It sometimes happens that the original inscription, or even the relief itself, has been ruthlessly effaced and other names added, showing that the monument has been put to an entirely new use.¹

This class of evidence is extremely difficult to handle; a later inscription may carefully imitate the style of an earlier one, or two names carelessly cut at the same time may have a very different look, so that it is often impossible to determine whether a name is a later addition or not. Only when, upon a good monument that bears an inscription carefully cut, another has been carelessly added, with evident disregard for the original pride in the monument, can we be sure that such an alteration has actually been made.

¹ Cf. § 2, no. 7 (pp. 41).

§ 1. NAMES ADDED CORRESPONDING TO FIGURES UPON THE MONUMENT

1. The clearest and most striking example of this sort that I have found is—Conze 413; *I.G.* II, 3189; Athens Mus. 1728—a plain stele of bluish stone with a very sketchy relief cut in a sunken panel. A seated woman grasps the hand of a standing, bearded man; between them in the background stands a woman, and behind the chair a girl with a toilet case. Above the latter's head, and represented as standing behind her is the head and bust of a woman, which was inserted after the relief was finished, by cutting away the background still deeper in the corner. Above on the shaft are the names:

Συμμαχία
Συμμάχου
Μενδ(α)ίου θυγάτηρ
Θεοφίλη Συμμάχου θυγάτηρ

the second name being cut with less care and in smaller letters. One could not ask for a better illustration of the way in which old gravestones were adapted to meet new contingencies, or a better proof that the persons sculptured upon the monuments included the deceased commemorated by the same. The inscriptions are clearly *burial* inscriptions, and the second plainly belongs with the inserted figure, which therefore represents a person who has died. For it would be absurd to suppose that a new figure and a new name should be added to the monument, simply because one of the bereaved relatives had at first been left out.

2. *I.G.* II^s (suppl.), 2338*b*, p. 272; discussed under chap. iii, no. 9 (p. 24). Here, as in the two following examples, we have not the reliefs themselves, but can be reasonably sure, from the position of the names, that they were so placed as to identify corresponding figures of the group below.

3. *I.G.* II^s (suppl.), 2343*b*, p. 272; Athens, Epigr. Mus. An Ionic architrave from a large monument of the same family

as the above. The names are very evidently arranged so as to serve not only as burial names but also as labels for the sculptured figures:

Φίλαγρος	Ἡδυλίνη	*Αλεξίς
*Αλέξιδος	T[ει]σιμέν(ο)υ	Φιλάγρου
Μελιτεὺς	ἐξ Οὔρου	Μελιτεὺς

The first and third names are cut alike, and very neatly, the second is little more than scratched, a sure indication of later date, the probable explanation being that Hedylinè was one of the original group, but that her name was not added until her death.

4. *I.G.* II, 2338; discussed under chap. iii, no. 10 (p. 25).

5. Conze 700; *I.G.* II, 2379; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 736. This is a relief from a large *aediculum* in which a bearded man sits facing to the right, where stands a nude youth facing front, both figures being practically in the round. Behind them are traces of two female figures in low relief, one in the center, the other behind the elder man. On the epistyle of the roof-piece that was found with the relief are the names:

*Ἐπιχάρης	Δημοστράτη Θεοτίμου	Πλάτων
Πλάτωνος	Περγασείως	*Ἐπιχάρου
Οἶνα[ῖος]	θυγ[ά]τηρ, μήτηρ δὲ	Οἶναῖος
	[Πλ]άτωνος	

arranged so as to correspond with the figures of the father, mother, and son.

As Epichares' name is cut in somewhat larger letters and with much less care than the other two, it is pretty surely a later addition. Now if all the figures had been merely mourners for a deceased relative, it would be very strange to have all except the father of the family supplied with names until someone took a fancy to add his name to the others. The only rational explanation is that Epichares erected the family group as a memorial to his son—and perhaps his wife also—and that after his own death his name was inscribed, perhaps according to his

own previous directions. This does not preclude the possibility of his having had a separate monument of his own, a practice which seems to have been common, as Brueckner² has clearly shown.

6. Conze 393; *I.G.* II, 2516; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 760. A plain stele with moulding at the top. From a boss is cut in low relief a group consisting of a seated woman holding the hand of a standing, bearded man. Behind them, in the center, stands a second woman. Above are inscribed the names:

Καλλιστράτη | Εὐάγρου | Προσπαλτίου
Δίων Δεινοβάτου | Κολλυτεύς

the first beautifully cut in large letters with slightly wedge-shaped tips, the second very poorly done. Here again we must infer that, although the man in the group is probably Dion, his name was not placed upon the monument until after his death, which occurred later than that of Kallistratè.

7. Conze 1168; *I.G.* II, 3654; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 1025. A stele with anthemion. In a sunken panel a sepulchral-banquet relief; a bearded man reclines upon a couch on the foot of which sits a woman. Above, at the top of the shaft, two names, which have been roughly erased, are still decipherable:

Ἐρ[μ]ογέ[ν]ης Γ[ε]ργη
Ῥόδη [ν]αῖ[ο]ς
Ἐρμιογένους

Ῥόδη (which is not noticed in *I.G.*) is cut in larger letters and was clearly the original inscription, as the crowding in of the other name around it shows. Thus the relief seems to represent father and daughter, of whom the latter died first. Below the relief is the name Ἐπιγένης Ἐρμιογένους, perhaps added in connection with the erasure of the other names to expropriate the stele for the benefit of another member of the same family, a very unusual practice.

² "Von den griechischen Grabreliefs," *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* CXVI, 1888, pp. 501-36; cf. chap. vi, pp. 42 ff., below.

§ 2. NAMES ADDED WHICH DO NOT CORRESPOND TO ANY FIGURES
OF THE RELIEFS

1. Conze 718; *I.G.* II, 1729; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 737. An *aediculum* in which sits an old man facing to the right and grasping the hand of the younger, bearded soldier. In the background, between them, stands a lady. On the epistyle above the respective figures are the names:

[Προκλείδης. . . .]	ἀ του	Ἀρχίππη Μειξιάδου	Προκλῆς Προκλείδου
Αἰγυλιεύς]		Αἰγυλίοθεν	Αἰγυλιεύς
		Προκλείδης	
		Πανφίλου	
		Αἰγυλιεύς	

the extra name, from its cramped position and small, irregular letters, being evidently a later addition. As there is no space below it for even a painted representation of Prokleides, the name must have been cut to commemorate his death. Hence we infer that the same is true of the other names, which are also very evidently so placed as to identify the three members of the family group below.

The three following monuments each have, in addition to the names which fully identify the figures, one or more names of the same family that are clearly later additions, and thus afford the same sort of proof as the preceding example.

2. Conze 384; *I.G.* II, 2493; near the Dipylon. Described under chap. vi, no. 6a (pp. 45 ff.).

3. Conze 629; *I.G.* II, 3219; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 906.

4. Conze 923; *I.G.* II, 2162; at Koropi.

5. Conze 1132; *I.G.* I, suppl., 491³⁵, p. 117; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 712; latter half of fifth century. A plain stele with a triangular top. The relief, which occupies the full width of the stele, represents a woman, face to the right, standing behind a bearded man who grasps the hand of another bearded man.

Above them, on the shaft, just under the moulding are the names:

- a) Τιμαρίστ(η) : Θεοφώντος : Λαμπτρείως
 b) Ἀριστώνυμος : Ἀρισταίου : Ἴφιστιάδης
 c) Ἀριστόμαχος : Ἀριστεύου : Ἴφιστιάδης

and upon the band above the moulding, the name:

d) Ἀριστεάς Ἴφιστιάδης.

a) and b) are crowded, making it appear that c) was cut first. b) is written over an erasure. Whatever possibility we may accept as to the order in which these names (a, b, c) were inscribed, they correspond well enough, as they now stand, to the figures beneath.³ The two sons of Aristreas clasp hands, their mother, or the wife of one of them, standing with them. d) must be the name of the father of these men, and may have been inscribed when he followed his sons to their resting-place. On the other hand, it is not impossible that his name is the original one and that his figure was painted upon the original surface of the stele, in the place now occupied by the relief. The painting having become badly damaged or faded, the grandchildren may have felt justified in adapting the monument for their fathers. At all events we are not compelled to assume, with Holwerda (§ 53), that the stone, as it stands, is a monument to Aristreas alone, and represents his *surviving* sons and daughter-in-law.

6. Conze 638; *I.G. II*^s (suppl.), 1682c, p. 267; Athens Mus. Inventory 2068. A simple stele with a relief, cut in a sunken, square panel, representing a seated, bearded man grasping the hand of a standing, bearded man. Above on the shaft are the names:

Ἐπιχάρης	Ἐργοχάρης
Ἀγγελῆθεν	
	Δημοστράτη
Καλλιστρατία	

³ Kabbadias (712) says they bear *no* relation to the figures.

the two women's names being cut deeper and coarser than the others. It is clear that the monument originally belonged to the seated man, Epichares, whose *demotikon* is given, and represented him with another member of his family, Ergochares. The names of Demonstratè and Kallistratia were inscribed here, perhaps to save the expense of another stone, although it is possible that they also had one of their own.

7. A good example of an entirely new use of a tombstone is Conze 73; *I.G.* II, 1848; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 764, representing a seated woman, to whom an attendant offers a toilet-case. In the field of the gable above, the names of two women and a man have been very poorly cut. A careful examination of the epistyle, however, discloses traces of the erasure of what must have been the original inscription, above the head of the principal figure.

CHAPTER VI

GROUPS OF FAMILY MONUMENTS

Groups of monuments to members of the same family, especially in cases where the name of a member of the family appears upon more than one of the stones, give us interesting information as to the customs of the Athenians in erecting memorials to their dead. Brueckner¹ has discussed several of these groups already, but a few others that I have noted may be mentioned here.

1, a) Conze 718; *I.G.* II, 1729; found near the Dipylon; described under chap. v, § 2, no. 1 (p. 39).

b) Conze 213; *I.G.* II, 1737; place of finding unknown. A marble lecythus bearing the figures in relief of a standing man, marked Πάμφιλος Μει[ξ]ιάδου | Αἰγυλιεύς, grasping the hand of a seated woman, marked Ἀρχίππη | Μειξιάδου.

Here Archippè appears with her brother, while in a) the other figures appear to be her husband and son, the name of her brother's son, or perhaps her grandson, being also inserted later. The pedestal in the form of a *trapeza* on which b) stood would show us whether it was a monument to the brother or to the sister. A similar monument may also have stood upon the grave of the other. The *aediculum* a), on the other hand, appears to have served as a family monument.

¹ "Von den griechischen Grabreliefs," *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl. CXVI, 1888, pp. 501-36; also reprinted (Wien, Tempsky).

Since I wrote this chapter, Brueckner has published *Der Friedhof am Eridanos bei der Hagia Triada zu Athen*, Berlin, 1909, setting forth all that was known about the cemetery near the Dipylon before the excavations which he began in 1909, and an article in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1910 (1 and 2), pp. 95 ff., describing the excavation of the family lot of the Herakleotes, Agathon and Sosikrates. This excavation makes clear the relations of the group of family monuments to each other and to the graves beneath them, confirming his previous explanations of similar groups and the explanations I have given here.

2, *a*) Conze 323; *I.G.* II^s (suppl.), 1806c, p. 268; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 950. A lecythus.

b) Conze 354; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 951. A lecythus.

c) Conze 1473; Athens, Epigr. Mus., Inventory 5001. Roof-piece of an *aediculum*, including gable and epistyle; width 1.75 m.

a) and *b*) were found together and are of the same size and workmanship, and bear exactly the same figures—a seated woman, Καλλιστομάχη | Ἀστίνω | Ἀλιμουσίω, holds the hand of a standing woman, Τιμαγόρα | Τιμοδήμο | Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, while between and back of them stands a bearded man, Ἀριστίων Πειθίω, facing to the right. In *a*) Kallistomachè is on the left, so that both she and Aristion face toward Timagora; in *b*) she is on the right, so that both Timagora and Aristion face toward her. It would thus seem that Timagora is the principal figure of *a*), and Kallistomachè of *b*), and that these two lecythi stood upon the *trapezai* of their respective graves in the same lot.

c) bears on its epistyle the names:

Τιμαγόρα	Ἀριστίων	Καλλιστομάχη
Τιμοδήμου	Πειθίω	Ἀστίνου
Ἀλωπεκῆθεν	Ἀλιμουσίω	Ἀλιμουσίω

Above, on the horizontal cornice, is the inscription—evidently later:

Ἀριστίων Πρεσβυχάρους Ἀλιμούσιος.

This, then, is a combined monument to the same persons whose individual graves were marked by the lecythi.²

The second Aristion was probably a grandson, or nephew, of the first, his name having been inscribed after his death to show that he belonged to the same family.³

² The absence of Aristion's *demotikon* in *a*) and *b*), and its use in the genitive case, agreeing with the father's name, in *c*), shows that Aristion, whether an Attic citizen or not, did not belong to his father's deme. He may have been adopted out of the deme, or have been a νόθος (cf. Loch, *De titulis Graecis sepulcr.*, p. 26), or may possibly have lost his citizenship by ἀτιμία.

³ Another member of this family, perhaps the son of the first Aristion and father of the second, was Πρεσβυχάρης Ἀριστίωνος Ἀλιμούσιος, mentioned as a *πρωταρχής* in an inscription early in the fourth century, *I.G.* II, 864.

3 and 4, a) Conze 109; *I.G.* II, 3597. A large and beautiful *aediculum* at the Dipylon cemetery represents two women in high relief, one standing, the other seated. On the epistyle, over the former, is inscribed *Δημητρία*, over the latter, in somewhat larger letters, *Παμφίλη*.

b) Conze 1477; *I.G.* II, 3828. The roof-piece of an *aediculum* found near a), bearing on its epistyle the names:

<i>Καλλιστομάχη</i>	<i>Διοκλέους</i>	<i>θυγάτηρ</i>	<i>Ναύσιον</i>	<i>Σωάνδρου</i>
		<i>θυγάτηρ</i>		
<i>Παμφίλη</i>	<i>Δημητρία Νικίππου</i>			

The two upper names are poorly cut, the lower two well cut, and evidently the original names, which perhaps were filled up with stucco when the other two were inscribed. It seems hardly possible that the Pamphilè and Demetria of this monument can be different from those of a). Here Demetria seems to have been the person commemorated, as her patronymic is added to her name, while in a) Pamphilè seems to take precedence as she is seated and her name is cut in larger letters.

c) Conze 208; *I.G.* II, 3754. Described under chap. iv, § 1, no. 6 (p. 29). The *loutrophoros* of Hegetor, with the figures of Hegetor and Pamphilè, stands less than four feet back of a), so that it is reasonably certain that there were at least three monuments in this part of the cemetery upon which the figure of Pamphilè appeared: one of them her own, another her friend or sister Demetria's, the third Hegetor's.

d) Conze 1475; *I.G.* II, 3616. In the immediate vicinity of these monuments is the roof-piece of the monument of another member of the family which appropriated b)—*Διοκλῆς Εὐδράστου*—father, apparently, of Kallistomachè, his name being neatly cut upon the epistyle.

5. A group of monuments found together in the Dipylon cemetery.

a) *I.G.* II, 1872. A *trapeza* bearing the name *Ὀλυμπιόδωρος* | *Ὀλυμπίχου* | *Ἀναφλύστιος*.

b) *I.G.* II, 1873. A *trapeza* inscribed *Θεοφάντη*.

c) *I.G. II, 1874*. A gabled roof-piece of an *aediculum*, whose epistyle is inscribed:

Ὀλυμπιόδωρος	Θεοφάντη Καλλίου
Ὀλυμπίχου	Ἀγρυλῆθεν, Ὀλυμπιοδώρου
Ἀναφλύστιος	Ἀναφλυστίου γυνή

Thus we see that in addition to the individual monuments upon their respective graves, Olympiodoros and his wife Theopantè were also honored by a combined monument upon which they were represented together. In like manner many of the family monuments, especially the larger ones, may have been associated with others which stood upon the individual graves, so that it is no wonder that we often find difficulty now in discovering in whose especial honor such a group-monument was erected!

With these three monuments were found three others belonging to the same family:

d) *I.G. II, 1871*. A *trapeza* inscribed Ὀλύμπιχος | Ὀλυμπιοδώρου | Ἀναφλύστιος—probably a son of Olympiodoros and Theopantè—possibly Olympiodoros' father.

e) *I.G. II, 1870*. A *trapeza* inscribed Ὀλύμπιχος | Ναύτου | Ἀναφλύστιος—probably a nephew, or cousin, of Olympichos of d).

f) *I.G. II, 1877*. A cylindrical stele (*columella*) inscribed Χρυσίου | Ὀλυμπιοδώρου | Ἀναφλυστίου | γυνή, | Ὑπεράνθου Ἀχαρνέως | θυγάτηρ—wife of a member of the same family in a later generation.

6, a) Conze 384; *I.G. II, 2493*; *in situ* near the Dipylon. A stele with anthemion. At the top of the shaft the names:

Εὐφροσύνη Φανίππου
Ποταμίου
Εὐβίος Φανίππου
Βίων Εὐβίου
Ποτάμιος

[143]

In a sunken panel below is a low relief, in which a seated woman grasps the hand of a standing man, while an older man stands between and behind them. Below the relief are two more names, later and perhaps separate additions:⁴

Δεξικλεία Φιλώνος ἐξ Οἴου
'Αρχίας Εὐβίου Ποτάμιος

b) Conze, sub 384; *I.G.* II, 2491; *in situ* near a). A column, once surmounted by a funeral urn. On its base are the names:

Βίων Εὐβίου Ποτάμιος
'Α[ρ]χ[ι]κ[λ]η[ς] 'Αρχίου Ποτάμιος.

b) has a later look than a), and it may be that the Bion of b) is a grandson of the Bion of a), as Kirchner⁵ indicates in his *stemma*, but it is quite possible that it is the same man—Archias, perhaps, having erected the monument in memory of his brother Bion, and of his son Archikles.

7, a) Conze 380; *I.G.* II, 4270; Munich, Brunn, *Beschr. der Glypt.* no. 88; found near the Dipylon(?). A marble lecythus. The figures of the relief, from left to right, are: a standing man, marked *Χαιρέας*; a seated woman, marked *Εὐκολίνη*, grasping the hand of a standing man, marked *'Ονήσιμος*; a small child; a woman with a child in her arms.

b) Conze 1131; *I.G.* II, 3134; *in situ* near the Dipylon. A stele representing an *aediculum*. On the epistyle the names *Πρωτονόη*, *Νικοστράτη*, *Εὐκολίνη* (traces of an erasure), and above, in the triangular field of the gable, less carefully inscribed:

'Ονήσιμος 'Ονήτορος
Λ(έ)σβιος

⁴ Cf. chap. v., § 2, no. 2 (p. 39). The relief may represent Eubios with his son Bion and his sister Euphrosynè; or possibly Euphrosynè and her brother Eubios, with their father Phanippos, without the figure of Bion. It is possible, however, as it is a rather sketchy piece of work, that the relief is a later addition, representing Dexikleia and her husband Archias, the third figure being in that case probably Eubios.

⁵ *Prosopographia Attica*, s.v. *Εὐφροσύνη* Φ. II.

In the relief below are four standing figures: a woman fondling a girl, a second woman, and a man.

While it may be merely an accident that the names Onesimos and Eukolinè appear on both of these monuments, the double coincidence makes it likely that the same two persons appear on both reliefs.⁶ It is impossible, however, to determine to whom in particular either monument was erected.

c) *I.G.* II, 3705; in the village of Koropi. A gravestone bearing the names, Εὐ]κολίνη | Νικοστράτη. Here again, although it is impossible to assert, especially in view of the different provenience of the two monuments, that these are the same two women whose names appear upon b), the double coincidence tempts one to make the conjecture.

8, a) *I.G.* II, 2679; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 858. A simple stele with anthemion, inscribed with the names:

Δεινίας
Φιλοκράτο[ς]
*Ω[α]θε[ν]
Φιλοκρά[της]
Δεινί[ο] *Ωαθεν]

b) Conze 1044; *I.G.* II, 2678; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 934. A relief representing a boy, who holds a bird in his left hand, and places his right upon the head of a smaller boy, while a dog jumps up toward him. Above, upon the epistyle, is the name Δεινίας *Ωαθεν.

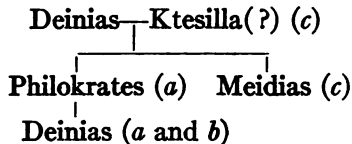
c) Conze 436; *I.G.* II, 2682; Athens Mus. (Kab.) 844. A *loutrophoros* with a relief representing a boy bringing shield and helmet to a soldier, who grasps the hand of a seated woman. The man's figure is labeled Μειδίας | Δεινίου | *Ωαθεν, the woman's (less carefully) Κτησίλλα.⁷

⁶ Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* 11451a, lists Onesimos of a) as a citizen, an assumption which is rendered at least doubtful by our conjectured identification with Onesimos the Lesbian of b).

⁷ Kabbadias (844) calls Ktesilla the wife of Meidias. She must, however, be regarded as his mother, or sister, since the *loutrophoros* shows that he was unmarried.

The three monuments were found near Balanideza in Attica, and appear to be nearly contemporary.

Deinias of *b*), if identical with Deinias of *a*), as seems likely, must have been the son of Philokrates, not his father, as Kirchner (*Pros. Att. s.v.*) says, for *b*) shows that he died as a boy. It is of course possible that he was a grandson. Their *stemma* seems to be:



9. It may be appropriately noted here that the name of Dexileos, who appears as a mounted knight upon his own monument in the family lot near the Dipylon (p. 18 above), is also inscribed upon the public monument (*I.G. II*, 1673; Athens Mus. [Kab.] 754) erected to the memory of the knights who died in the Corinthian campaign of 394 B.C.

CONCLUSION

A brief summary of the foregoing chapters will show how positive and how varied is the evidence for the assumption that the Attic grave-reliefs do contain figures that represent the occupants of the graves upon which they stood, especially when we consider that, in the very nature of the case, such evidence is largely incidental, or accidental.

On *eleven* monuments we have found a *statement*, or *direct implication*, of the epitaph that the figure of the deceased was portrayed.

At least *six* monuments exhibit *identity of subject* in relief and epitaph.

In the case of *thirty-one* monuments (chaps. iii and iv) we have shown how the deceased was identified by means of a "*label*"-*inscription*, in combination with either a "*title*"-*inscription* or an *epitaph* containing his name.

Out of the many monuments upon which *inscriptions* have been added or altered, *fourteen* have been cited which help to identify the deceased, or throw light upon the practice of the Athenians in adapting old stones to new circumstances and new uses.

Finally we have seen from *seven groups of family monuments* (in addition to others discussed by Brueckner; cf. p. 42 above) that the same person was often portrayed upon more than one monument, the inscriptions (often not preserved) upon the head, or foot, of the several monuments serving to identify the persons to whom they were erected.

To all this positive evidence must be added what is perhaps equally strong evidence of a negative character—the fact that, in all the hundreds of monuments that I have examined, I found no *unaltered* monument on which there was a figure that did not harmonize with the epitaph.

Philology and Literature Series

VOLUME I

(Complete in four numbers, with title-page, table of contents, and index.)

- No. 1. On the development of American literature from 1815 to 1833, by William B. Cairns. 1898. 4+87 p. 35 cents.
- No. 2. The treatment of nature in the poetry of the Roman Republic, by Katharine Allen. 1899. 131 p. 50 cents.
- No. 3. The Great Mother of the gods, by Grant Showerman. 1901. 113 p. 4 pl. 45 cents.
- No. 4. Wortlehre des Adjectivs im Altsächsischen, by Edwin Carl Roedder. 1901. 82 p. 35 cents.

VOLUME II

(Complete in three numbers, with title-page, table of contents, and index.)

- No. 1. The time elements of the Orestean trilogy, by Jonathan Bailey Browder. 1902. 76 p. 35 cents. *Out of print.*
- No. 2. Schillers Einfluss auf Grillparzer, eine litterarhistorische Studie, by Otto Edward Lessing. 1902. 128 p. 50 cents.
- No. 3. The philosophy of Ernest Renan, by Herman Gustav Adolph Brauer. 1903. 176 p. 50 cents. *Out of print.*

VOLUME III

- No. 1. Das Sprichwort bei Hans Sachs: Teil 1, Verzeichnis der Sprichwörter, by Charles Hart Handschin. 1904. 153 p. 50 cents.
- No. 2. The Graecostasis of the Roman Forum and its vicinity, by Charles James O'Connor. 1904. 49 p. 25 cents.
- No. 3. Latinitas and Ἑλληνισμός: The influence of the Stoic theory of style as shown in the writings of Dionysius, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Fronto, Aulus Gellius, and Sextus Empiricus, by Charles Newton Smiley. 68 p. 30 cents.
- No. 4. The indebtedness of Samuel Taylor Coleridge to August Wilhelm von Schlegel, by Anna Augusta Helmholz. 98 p. 40 cents.

VOLUME IV

(Complete in two numbers, with title-page, table of contents and index.)

- No. 1. German literature in American magazines prior to 1846, by Scott Holland Goodnight. 264 p. 50 cents.
- No. 2. German literature in American magazines, 1846 to 1880, by Martin Henry Haertel. 183 p. 50 cents.

VOLUME V

- No. 1. Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex, by Homer Andrew Watt. 1910. 98 p. 40 cents.
- No. 2. On the relation between inscriptions and sculptured representations on Attic tombstones, by Harold Ripley Hastings, 1912. 50 p. 25 cents.

This book should be returned to
the Library on or before the last date
stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred
by retaining it beyond the specified
time.

Please return promptly.

Arc 670.3
On the relation between inscription
Widener Library 005199847



3 2044 081 008 880